Discourse Analysis of Prominent Politicians' Public Speeches: Pre and Post-Election 2013 Pakistan

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ABSTRACT

The purpose of the study is to analyze the rhetorical devices: Repetition, modality, positive self- presentation, negative other-presentation, ethnicity and figurative speech (metaphor, simile and personification) in pre and post-election speeches of relatively popular political leaders of Pakistan. The paper investigated the linguistic implications of these rhetorical devices. A qualitative content analysis of data (collected from a sample of fifteen prominent politicians) was undertaken to address the underlying research questions. Frequency of persuasive devices was measured to figure out the variation in pre and post-election data. The findings uncover that the politicians exploit persuasive devices to foster consent, demonstrate ideologies and assert power. The use of rhetorical devices seemed more or less context dependent.

Introduction

To manipulate language to execute political functions is an indispensable part of politics all over the world including Pakistan. "It's strategic for politicians to use political rhetoric to persuade people to act in the way they (politicians) want" (Alvi & Jalilifar, 2011, p. 44). Politicians leave no stone unturned to utilize their linguistic faculties to persuade target audience and attain political objectives. Bhatia (2006, p. 174-180) remarks that "political discourse enables politicians to achieve their desired communicative purposes". Chilton (2004) argues that politics depends greatly on language and there is a strong relation between language and political activity; so it is impossible to disparate them. Keeping in view the significant and central role language plays in politics, the current study intends to examine the rhetorical choices made by Pakistani politicians, and get an insight into the contemporary Pakistani political discourse. The paper analyses Urdu speeches delivered by prominent political leaders of Pakistan. It attempts to unfold the multifaceted functions of following persuasive strategies: Repetition, modality, positive

self-presentation, negative other-presentation, ethnicity and figurative speech (metaphor, simile and personification). The paper also tries to know the frequency of above stated persuasive devices in pre and postelection data, and investigates how tactfully Pakistani politicians manipulate language and employ multiple rhetorical devices in different situations to ascertain power, maintain identities, establish social relations, inculcate ideologies and manufacture consent. The instrumental value of linguistic expressions cannot be ignored and language can not only be used to direct peoples‟ thoughts and beliefs, but also to control those (Jones & Peccei, 2004).

Background

Political discourse is beyond any doubt, characterized by representations of ideologies, power struggle and hegemony. Politics unquestionably is a struggle for power, and language is the most effective tool to exercise power. Van Dijk (2004, p. 11) argues that ideologies are explicitly expressed and formulated in discourse. Moreover, political ideologies are not only involved in the production or understanding of political discourses... but they are (re) produced by them. Accordingly, the aspect of power/language relationship cannot be ignored. Fairclough (2000) asserts that power is enacted and exercised in discourse. "It is difficult to imagine politics without persuasion, by its very nature politics requires choices to be formulated, options to be weighed and decisions to be made" (Martin, 2014, p. 11). The Politicians being representatives of their party, government or political institutes strive to ascertain power, determine identities and establish social relations by integrating ideologies in the course of discursive practices. The researches done on political discourse analysis (PDA) all over the world emphasize its significance and also support these notions. Different genres of political discourse have been capturing scholars‟ attention for investigation including both printed and oral discourse since long. "The multidimensionality of political discourse has attracted a great deal of attention from discourse analysts" (Bhatia, 2006, p. 173). It is a field of discourse analysis which focuses on the interpretation and explanation of any kind of political talk, i.e., discourse related to politics, both at the local, national and international levels (Dijk, 1995, p. 9). The studies of political discourse take a discourse analytical approach to unfold the meanings and messages presented in variety of linguistic forms. Investigation into the discipline of PDA shows that speeches of famous political leaders like Barak Obama, Nelson Mandela, Jorge Bush, Khalid Mashaal and Mahatma Gandhi etc. (see Schiler, 2010; Rodriguez, 2008; Martínez, 2012; Al-Harahsheh, 2013 etc.) have been taken into consideration for analysis.

We also find examples in Pakistani context. Mediatisation of political talk including political speeches has led to evaluate and analyse political talk on regular basis. Analysis of political speeches of Quaid-e-Azam, Benazir Bhutto, Tahir-ul-Qadri, and now Imran Khan has been done by the researchers and analysts (see Nasir, 2013; Naz, Alvi & Baseer, 2012; Mehdi, 2012 etc.). By such analysis, the researchers attempt to identify the reasons and purposes of employing multiple rhetorical strategies. It also helps them to uncover the hidden motives behind linguistic manipulation.

While analysing one of Imran Khan‟s speeches, Nasir (2013, p.7) highlights that "Khan‟s rhetoric falls within Islamist and post-Islamist thought". He asserts that the ascension of Imran khan‟s party can be attributed to its adoption of a post-Islamist rhetoric of religiosity and rights;

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he declares it the main source to appeal the audience (Nasir, 2013).

Another study conducted by Naz, Alvi and, Baseer (2012) investigates the art of linguistic spin in one of the political speeches produced by Benazir Bhutto, the former Prime Minister of Pakistan. The analysis of her speech is based on Hallidian systemic functional linguistics by using transitivity model and the results emphatically declare that a language user uses language according to the social context, and the language choices vary as the function varies. The study reveals how linguistic choices help to discern the underlying meanings. The analysis discloses that Pakistani Prime Minister was more concerned about the emotional and physical participation of masses (Naz, Alvi & Baseer, 2012, p. 137).

Mehdi (2012) holds different opinion and criticizes the excessive use of rhetoric by Pakistani politicians and indicates that "Pakistani political discourse is filled with: words, words, words – the timelessly told tales of shaheeds " and sacrifices". He further states, "It is hard to decide if excessive use of rhetoric and an absolute dependence on it is an intrinsic element of our national political culture and psyche or if it is a specific expression of a particular mind-set of the major political actors in Pakistan these days" (Mehdi, 2012).

The studies demonstrate that political rhetoricians have always been employing numerous linguistic constructions to impart political ideologies and portray the picture the way they desire it to be. They reveal that selection of variety of persuasive devices is not mere a chance, rather it is dependent on social and political factors as well as the context. In addition, the researches also expose the excessive use of rhetoric by Pakistani political leaders.

Significance

As already discussed, mediatisation of political talk including political speeches has intensified audience's interest in whatever Pakistani politicians state and comment. Moreover, Pakistan confronts serious conflicts both internal and external; therefore, studying political discourse is crucial. It contributes to better understand the current political situation. Extensive and strong impact of political discourse in today's world itself adds value to this research. Al-Harahsheh (2013, p. 100) claims that the analysis of political discourse has a great importance nowadays. In addition, the study focuses on analysis of political speeches delivered in Urdu that are the direct and the most influential medium to interact with common masses, hence play pivotal role to manufacture consent. Secondly, the current study deals with the most recent data since most of the speeches produced during the year, 2013 have been selected for analysis. Additionally, this research includes a greater number of popular politicians as participants, and ensures the representation of five major political parties in Pakistan. Therefore, offers prospect to develop a comparative standpoint while discussing pre and post-election data; it contributes to form an opinion about the nature of linguistic cohesion among political leaders and parties. The research attempts to find answers to the following questions: 1. What are some linguistic implications of following rhetorical devices in speeches of Pakistani politicians?
Repetition, Modality, Positive Self-Presentation, Negative Other-Presentation, Ethnicity, and Figurative Speech (metaphor, simile and personification). 2. (a) How frequently are the above

stated rhetorical devices employed by Pakistani politicians? (b) How far is their use context dependent?

Methodology

Researchers dealing with any kind of research confront variety of issues relating to the size and collection of data samples, process of data analysis etc. Keeping such questions in mind, this section describes the procedures of data collection, ethical considerations, data analysis, and the theoretical underpinnings.

Data collection

Sample: The nature of sample is purposive. Thirty speeches (fifteen before election, 2013 and fifteen after election) of Pakistani political leaders were considered for the research. Speeches delivered right before and after the elections were preferred. Participants included fifteen foremost Pakistani politicians from five major political parties i.e., PMLN, PPP, PTI, MQM and Religious political parties (JI & JUIF). Three speakers from each political party were selected. Chief party representatives were considered, keeping in view their significant position either in the party or in the National Assembly. Participants have been divided into five respective groups according to their party membership.

Table 1. Demographics of Participants

Political Parties	Abbreviation	Speakers	Designation
Pakistan Muslim League (N)	PMLN	Nawaz Sharif	Prime Minister
		Shahbaz Sharif	Chief Minister (Punjab)
		Ch. Nisar	Interior Minister
Pakistan Peoples Party	PPP	Asif Ali Zardari	Co-Chairman of PPP
		Bilawal Bhutto	Chairman of PPP
		Ameen Faheem	Senior vice chairman PPP
Pakistan Tehreek-e- Insaf	PTI	Imran Khan	MNA
		Javed Hashmi	MNA
		Shah Mehmood Qureshi	MNA
Muttahida Qaumi Movement	MQM	Altaf Hussain	MQM Leader
		Farooq Sattar	MNA
		Haider Abbas Rizvi	MNA
Religious Political Parties	RP		
Jamaat-e-Islami	JI	Syed Munawar Hassan	Assistant Secretary General of JI
Jamiat Ulema-e-Islam F	JUIF	Liaqat Baloch	MNA
		Maulana Fazal-ur-Rehman	MNA

Paying attention to certain ethical issues involved in all type of researches is researcher's moral and professional obligation. The ethical considerations undertaken for this research are noted down step by step.

Taking permission of the participant is an important consideration especially in qualitative research process, but not all types of research require permission. For example, if researcher is

interested in analysing something that is available publicly (such as in the case of commercials, public message boards, etc.) he/she does not necessarily need the permission of the authors. Same is the case with current study; speeches selected for analysis have either been taken from the official website of the political parties or downloaded from YouTube. They were directly addressed to public, besides; the content does not involve any kind of sensitive or controversial information that requires secrecy. Hence, the analysis would not lead to any conflict. Great care was taken while making word for word transcription of each speech, without having missed out any detail.

Data analysis

A qualitative content analysis of data was conducted to address the underlying research questions. The transcripts were investigated for analysis of rhetorical devices. Linguistic expressions relevant to study were marked and translated into English. Frequency of persuasive devices was measured to figure out variation in pre and post- election data. Graphic representation of data (figure 1, 2) show frequency of rhetorical devices among the parties, in addition, the line charts (figure 3, 4) demonstrate which rhetorical strategy was remarkably context dependent. In the process of analysing data, I observed three functions of qualitative research paradigm illustrated by Ritchie (2013, p. 26-27).

• Contextual/exploratory: describing the form or nature of what exists

• Explanatory: examining the reasons for, or associations between, what exists

• Evaluative : appraising the effectiveness of what exists

As already stated, the current study attempted to analyse data keeping in view three functions of qualitative research paradigm. First, I explored the speeches (purposive sample) of Pakistani political leaders, and identified themes relevant to research question(s). As cited in Zhang & Wildemuth (2009, p. 3) "An instance of a theme might be expressed in a single word, a phrase, a sentence, a paragraph, or an entire document. When using theme as the coding unit, you are primarily looking for the expressions of an idea" (Minichiello et al., 1990). They further explain that one might assign a code to a text chunk of any size, as long as that chunk represents a single theme or issue of relevance to research question(s) (Zhang & Wildemuth, 2009, p. 3). So, I marked the words, phrases and sentences that best exemplified the rhetorical devices, i.e., repetition, modality, positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation, ethnicity, and figurative speech (metaphor, simile and personification). At second stage, I examined the reasons for employing particular rhetorical strategy, and then tried to explain factors and causes responsible for integration of particular rhetorical devices in political discourse. At third stage, effectiveness of (de) emphasising different persuasive strategies in the progression of discursive event was detected and evaluated. Thus, the interpretative paradigm of qualitative content analysis assisted to interpret linguistic implications.

Theoretical underpinning

Since 1970s Discourse Analysis (DA) has developed into substantial sub-areas, notably Critical Discourse Analysis (CDA) which sees discourse as a form of social practice (Fairclough 1995, 1989 as cited in Rashidi & Souzandehfar, 2010, p. 56). The current study was basically concerned with discourse analysis (DA) of political speeches. However, it also drew on some aspects of critical discourse analysis (CDA). Rashidi and Souzandehfar (2010, p. 56) state:

DA focuses on the relationship between language forms and a limited sense of context and tends to be oriented to a narrow understanding of larger social, cultural and social forces that influence our lives. CDA goes much further toward addressing the ideological dimensions of discourse. It is a version of discourse that does not posit language use free of ideological conditions.

To address the research questions, linguistic expressions (at word, phrase and clause level) related to selected rhetorical devices, were analysed. In the process of analysing and interpreting political discourse, I relied more on philosophies proposed by Fairclough (1995, 1989) and Van Dijk (2004, 2002, & 1985). Fairclough (1995) argues that language is linked to social realities and brings about social change. He (1995) further talks about the manipulation and use of language in significant ways by the government, and points out government"s particular concern with the linkage between discourse and power relations within society. He emphasizes a text as the product of a process in which discourse is closely related to social structures in its production and interpretation. Fairclough (1999, pp. 97-98) has developed the following method of discourse analysis which include: "(a) linguistic description of the language text, (b) interpretation of the relationship between the (productive and interpretative) discursive processes and the text, and (c) explanation of the relationship between the discursive processes and the social processes".

Van Dijk (1985) marks that texts are not used just to inform us of some reality. They, additionally, based on the ideological standpoints of the person, organization, etc. Van Dijk (2002) takes ideology as the attitude a group of people holds towards certain issues; hence the analysis of ideology is one of the main concerns of discourse analysis. Van Dijk (2004, p. 11) argues that ideologies are explicitly expressed" and formulated in discourse. Moreover, political ideologies are not only involved in the production or understanding of political discourses... but they are (re)produced by them. Though, I was concerned to develop my own perspective while interpreting data, nonetheless, the theoretical concerns explained by Fairclough (1995, 1989) and Van Dijk (2004) facilitated me to construct meanings and gain better understanding of the text.

Van Dijk (2004, p. 13) defines political discourse not only in terms of discourse structures but also in terms of political contexts. It is crucial to relate such use to such categories as who is speaking, when, where and with/to whom, that is, to specific aspects of the political situation. This conception by Van Dijk, no doubt, had been quite helpful while interpreting political speeches. Better understanding of contextual features made easy to unfold implicit meanings and messages.

Analysis of rhetorical devices

Brief analysis of each rhetorical device is summed up by explicating their possible interpretations and implications in pre and post-election speeches.

Repetition

Repetition is one of the most common rhetorical tactics employed by political rhetoricians to reinforce ideas, gain attention and exert powerful impact to motivate the audience. Martínez (2012) highlights the strong effect created by Mandela's repetition of specific structures, "The repetition of the structure Let there be... in different parallel clauses at the end of the speech points out Mandela's desire of a better situation in South Africa forever" (Martinez, 2012, p. 22).

All political rhetoricians utilized the strategy of repetition potentially for ideological and functional reasons. It was also used to highlight and emphasise the point such as "Bijli" (electricity) was repeated many times especially by PMLN to stress upon the current issue of energy crisis. The expressions like, "Multan/ Multan walo!" (O people of Multan!), "Sindh walo !" (O people of Sindh!) etc. appeared more likely to be intentional, keeping in view the context of the speeches, they undoubtedly demonstrate how significant it was for all the speakers to focus on their addressees especially when they were there to win sympathies during election campaign, 2013. By this repetitive use they succeeded to exhibit how concerned they were for the wellbeing of their audience.

Another significant motive behind repetition was to draw the audience's attention through anaphoric and epistrophe repetitive strategies for example, "na dukanon men bijli he, na kisanon k pas bijli he" (neither shopkeepers have power supply nor farmers have it) etc. These repetitive strategies contributed to stir the audience"s emotions and receive active response.

The repetition of certain content words contributed greatly to express party's motto and manifesto as obvious in case of RP such as, "Allah" (God), "Islam", ".Insanieat" (humanity) etc. The members of PTI repeated Imran Khan's name to highlight his status as competent leader. PPP speakers especially Zardari and Bilawal Bhutto repeated the slogan of "Bhutto" and "Sindh" to emotionally appeal target audience. In some cases repetition appeared unintentional and could be labelled as example of tautology i.e., that may occur due to faulty style of the speaker or lack of preparation. This repetitive style was ubiquitous in pre-election speeches. Nonetheless, it is obvious that repetition is one of the important linguistic devices employed by politicians to influence the audience.

Almost all political rhetoricians exploited the strategy of repetition effectively for ideological and functional reasons even in post-election speeches. Though, one change was obvious that key words highlighted after elections were different. Most of the politicians repeated the following words: "Pakistan", "hakoomat" (government), "jamhuriat" (democracy), "Punjab", and "Elections" etc. It helped them to show their keen interest in country's well-being by discussing the government and democratic system after elections. Moreover, repetition in post-election discourse was of thematic nature, and it demonstrated the subject matter more evidently in certain cases like Nawaz Sharif repeated word "amreyat" (dictatorship) to stress upon its drawbacks for the development of the country. Post-election discourse appeared less emotional, and a reduced number of anaphoric and epistrophe repetitive strategy was found. Having knowledge about the results of election, 2013 and existing political state of affairs helped greatly to understand the underlying meanings. Having Fairclough (1995) and Van Dijk's (2004) view of

analysing political discourse assisted me to identify the reasons that made politicians prefer particular persuasive strategy.

Modality

It is one of the common persuasive strategies employed by politicians to indicate mood. A modal (also known as a modal auxiliary) expresses necessity, uncertainty, ability, or permission. "It allows them to formulate different kinds of claims (e.g., assertions, opinions, hypotheses, speculations) and indicate how committed they are to those claims" (Cameron, 2007).

Modality analysed in this paper reveal different moods of Pakistani politicians, and become expressive of their level of commitment and dedication. It has been observed that most of the time modality was employed to express trust, future plans and make promises. For instance, Hashmi remarked with certainty, "ye mehfil sadeon yad rakhe jaege" (this political rally will be remembered for centuries). The following words by Nawaz Sharif, "motorway se link kar dya jaega" (will be linked through motorway) reflect promising tone. Whereas, he assumed suggestive stance while stating "agla shehr Multan hona chahea" (Multan should be the next city) thus, productively communicated his wholehearted preference for betterment of "Multan" and "Multanis".

In addition, modality was frequently employed to give suggestions and recommendations in order to inculcate sense of responsibility and obligations both cautiously and authoritatively for example, "in logon ko harana hoga" (will have to defeat these people) etc. Politicians focused more on making promises and asserting future projects before elections.

As already discussed, modality exemplifies interpersonal function of language and speaker's attitude towards or point of view about a state of the world. Hence, it reveals variety of moods that a speaker might assume during the course of discursive event. It becomes more significant when discourse occurs in diverse political context. Participants of current research assumed a rather serious mood in post-election speeches because most of them were addressing the National Assembly. Especially Mr Nawaz Sharif, the leader of the winning party, intentionally preferred to give positive gesture to opposing parties and focused on making promises and commitment as newly elected Prime Minister of the country, e.g. "Shana bashanarahengey" (will stand shoulder to shoulder), "koe imtiaz nae hoga" (no discrimination will be made), and "apney mu'amlat ko sambhalen gey" (will take care of our matters) etc. Members of opposing parties also employed it to demonstrate concern and collective sense of responsibility such as Hashmi got engaged in showing commitment and dedication for future endeavours as an opposition member of the parliament. Consider the following examples: "Hum sirf opposition brae opposition nahe Karen gey" (we will not do opposition only for sake of opposition), "izat karengey, ahtram karengey" (will do respect, will give honor) etc.

Though modality also helped to demonstrate promises and commitments in postelection, yet it was equally employed to suggest, advise and recommend course of action, for example, Nawaz Sharif stated, "Hmari shana'kht Pakistaniat hone chahea" (We should determine our identity as Pakistani). It could be observed that at one time the speakers remained suggestive while

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recommending course of action to be taken like "It can be done" or "we should be ready to face.."etc. While on other moment they pronounced with sense of obligation for instance, "It must be across the board and not selective" or "Peace and reconciliation in Baluchistan must receive high priority" and so on.

Positive self-presentation and negative other –presentation

The analysis of political speeches has underscored the fact that ideological manipulations are expressed, enacted, sustained and, at times, inculcated through discursive structures."Underlying political ideologies are typically expressed in political discourse by emphasizing our good things and their bad things, and by de- emphasizing our bad things and their good things" (Dijk, 2004).

These two strategies have considerably been exploited by Pakistani political leaders in pre-election to win sympathies and vote bank for upcoming elections. Speakers made maximum use of positive self-presentation (abbreviated as PSP) by highlighting their achievements as an individual as well as a group. PMLN speakers made maximum use of PSP by highlighting the achievements of Mr. Shahbaz Sharif in the province of Punjab especially Metro bus project, see the following words uttered by Mr. Shahbaz Sharif, "sirf das maheenon men metro bus bnasktey hen" (can complete metro bus project only in ten months). PTI members highlighted Imran"s accomplishments as social worker by pointing out Shaukat Khanum hospital such as "Shaukat Khanum ko dekhen" (just see Shaukat Khanum). PPP stressed upon sacrifices of Bhutto family and emphasised the services provided by PPP government as obvious from these words, "hum ne phir bhe awam ke khidmat ke" (even then we did serve our nation) etc. Moreover, they kept portraying positive image of party leaders for example, "sab pe bhari, Asif Zardari" (the most influential, Asif Zardari) etc. Nawaz Sharif stated, "jab Nawaz Sharif Pakistan ka wazir e Azamat ha bijli ak ghante k lea be nahe jati thee" (There was no load shedding even for an hour when Nawaz Sharif was the Prime Minister of Pakistan). In short, all party speakers left no stone unturned to distinguish their party leader as well as the members.

Furthermore, the counterpart i.e., negative other-presentation (abbreviated as NOP) had also been employed not only to diminish the position of political rivals but also to legitimise course of action adopted by an individual member as well as the party. Employing direct denunciation reveals their intentions to emotionally blackmail the audience by portraying negative image of their political rivals. The following words, stated mockingly by Imran Khan, are an exact evidence, "Shahbaz Sharif ka drama" (Shahbaz Sharif's drama) etc. Similarly Mr. Shahbaz Sharif directly blamed PPP government in these words, "Ap ne loot mar ke" (you robbed), "bijli k andhery to uno ne khud kaim keay he" (they themselves have created these blackouts/ the electricity crisis) etc. The entire purpose was to make people not to forget the services provided by their party. On the other hand pointing out others" weaknesses simply meant to criticize them and expose their inefficiency to convince public that their party was the most suitable to be voted in upcoming elections.

Post-election data showed considerably reduced number of these two strategies. The reason is obvious that most of the politicians were addressing the newly elected National Assembly, hence

trying to be less confrontational, and focusing more on collective sense of responsibility. Losing parties exhibited examples of NOP to highlight the issue of rigging in elections, 2013 or to criticise the policies announced by newly elected government. Shah Mehmood Qureshi stated in post-election speech, "election commission ko is ghaflat ka zimadar thehrata hun" (I consider Election Commission responsible for this negligence). Though PTI won in KPK, but it could not succeed to form government in centre, this might count for this exploitation and strategic use of NOP.

While referring to fiscal plans of PMLN Khan straightforwardly declared, "ap ne jo tax lagaey hen is se to tabahi machege" (taxes imposed by you will simply bring destruction). Mr. Zardari passed judgment against dictatorship by pointing out personal interests of dictators and referred to history in these words, "The progress was halted, and constitution was averted on 6th July 1977" or "The assault on the constitution in 1999" etc. Moreover, Altaf Hussain strived hard to safeguard MQM against political allegations by pointing out his opponents' flaws and errors and pronounced, "ye sazishen karne wale..." (These conspirators...).

As far as positive self-presentation is concerned, it was utilized in many cases to compensate the results, and justify the loss of seats in elections, 2013 especially by losing parties. While indicating MQM''s popularity particularly in Punjab, Altaf Hussain stated, "Hum un ke gal'leon tak pohnch gaey hen" (we have reached their streets). Khan utilized it to show and highlight the initiatives taken by him and his government in KPK, thus succeeded in offering a comparative perspective by wrapping up discussion in favour of PTI such as, "Hum apna anti-corruption bureau bna rey hen" (we are going to establish our own anti-corruption Bureau) or "ye bhe" (conflict of interest law) "hum KPK mein lane lage hen" (we are also going to bring it in KPK). The employment of this strategy contributed to claim the popularity of the speakers' party even after losing election, 2013.

Ethnicity and figurative speech

Ethnic markers serve as identity indicators and are employed usually to distinguish the target audience or specific group. Expressions related to ethnicity contribute to appeal the audience emotionally, and gain their sympathies. It can be exploited negatively as well. Dijk (2004) states, "Discourse plays an important role in the production and reproduction of prejudice and racism". Incorporation of ethnic markers appeared intentional and contextual in speeches of Pakistani politicians. They were employed to arouse audience''s emotions and draw attention. At times this strategy was utilized to distinguish minority groups and win their favours. For example, Fazl u Rehaman utilized four identity markers like "Pakistani", "Maseehi" (Christians) "Hindi", and "Sikh" in the course of his pre-election speech. By addressing "Maseehi", "Hindi", and "Sikh", he meant to identify the presence of minority groups, and it also uncovered an inclination to demonstrate his "jamat's" great concern for the rights and welfare of minority groups in Pakistan. Manipulation of ethnic element could well be observed in use of Sindhi language in case of PPP and MQM speakers e.g. Altaf Hussain expressed his feelings in Sindhi, "nae chanda su" (doesn't wish). It was also exploited to stir provincial prejudices, though at minimum level, for instance Shah Mehmood and Shahbaz Sharif addressed their audience like, "Punjabeo" (O people of

Punjab!) etc. These ethnic markers were employed keeping in view the target audience and context.

In post-election speeches, ethnic marker of "Pakistani" was employed because most of the speakers were addressing the Assembly; hence they avoided exploiting identity markers negatively except Altaf Hussain. It was contextual as they were not targeting any specific group to win vote. Members of newly elected government highlighted Punjab and „Punjabi", moreover, PPP and MQM exploited ethnic markers like, "Sindhi bhaeon" (Sindhi brothers), "Karachi wale" (people of Karachi) etc.

The use of figures of speech reflects the speaker's ability to produce an emotive and effective discourse that will affect the audience positively. "These expressions are used in political discourse to give a livable image as well as an expressive and emotive meaning" (Al-Harahsheh, 2013, p. 107). Use of figurative speech in most cases appeared unintentional, yet it contributed to add emotional flavour to the discourse. Personification was employed to give emotive touch, whereas similes helped to illuminate and clarify ideas and feelings. See Qureshi's words, "Pakistan jag utha he" (Pakistan is awoken ...) and "Lahore jag utha he" (Lahore is awoken...). This is how he emotionally involved his target audience. Farooq Sattar used following simile "Sindhri amon ke tara" (like Sindhi mangoes) etc. Metaphoric use of language facilitated speakers to explain abstract ideas smoothly and also criticize their adversaries ironically for instance Mr Zardari and his associates were straightforwardly accused in these words, "Ali baba challis chor" (Ali baba and forty thieves). Referring Nawaz Sharif as "ma'maar" implied that Mr. Sharif was the only leader who made Pakistan progress. Connotative aspects of language added emotive touch and imparted symbolic meaning too.

As far as post-election data is concerned, it was used to impart emotional touch or represent abstract ideas. Most of the speakers depended on metaphoric expressions. Especially the metaphor of "safar" (journey) was frequently employed to describe democratic process after elections. The metaphoric expressions connote certain meaning. Employing metaphor of "honey moon period" by Khan to refer to early days of the newly elected government in centre contributed significantly to indicate upcoming challenges quite ironically. The metaphor "masail ka jungle" (forest of problems) by Nawaz Sharif helped to refer variety of existing issues in the country and simile "aftab ke tarah" (like sun) aided to express prosperous future of the country. Personification was also employed to create emotional appeal for example, "Pakistan ka damkta chehra" (sparkling face of Pakistan).

Precisely, these figures of speech played an important role in giving picturesque touch whenever it was required, therefore enhanced emotional appeal.

Frequency of rhetorical devices

As already discussed, I incorporated column and line charts to demonstrate the frequency of rhetorical devices in pre and post-election speeches. They demonstrate the frequency of each device among parties i.e., PMLN, PPP, PTI, MQM and RP (JI & JUIF) and also highlight which persuasive device was the most recurrent both in pre and post-election speeches. The following graph presents values of rhetorical devices in pre-election speeches.
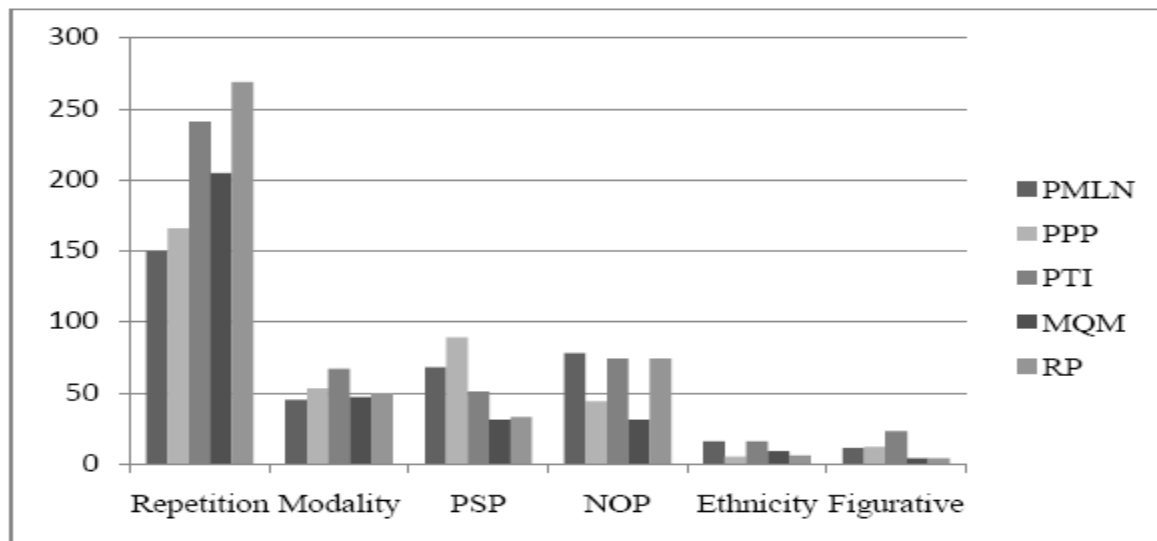
Figure 1. Frequency of Rhetorical Devices in Pre-election Speeches

It is evident from the graph that repetition was the most frequent strategy in pre-election speeches. Its value is above 250 in case of group 5, i.e., RP (JUIF & JI), while PTI showed slightly lesser amount of repetition. MQM emerged at third level where the value is 200 and PPP with minor difference stands at fourth number. PMLN showed minimum frequency of repetition as obvious from the chart. Modality's value is much lesser than repetition since the most efficient user i.e., PTI, didn't cross the value of 100 as evident from the chart. PTI and RP (JUIF & JI) appeared at second number with slight difference from PMLN and MQM. RP (JUIF & JI), PPP and MQM looked quite close to each other. PMLN once again exhibited the lowest number in comparison with rest of the parties and didn't rise up to the value of 50.

We can see an increased value of Positive Self-Presentation, as shown in figure 1, in case of PPP who appears in leading position. PMLN emerged as the second potential user of PSP on value scale. PTI rose up to the level of 50 as third potential user. Both MQM and RP (JUIF & JI) showed least employment of PSP with slight difference from each other but with considerable difference from rest of the parties. As far as NOP is concerned, apart from PPP and MQM, all other parties demonstrated almost equal number of NOP as obvious from the chart. PPP hardly rose up to the value of 50, whereas MQM showed decreased value of NOP and didn't even touch the value of 50.

Ethnicity and figurative speech were the least employed devices in case of all parties as evident from the column chart. PMLN and PTI showed same frequency of ethnicity, whereas MQM, with slight deviation from PTI and PMLN, appeared at third number. RP (JUIF & JI) showed a decreased value of ethnicity and PPP, astonishingly exhibited a minimal number of this strategy. In case of figurative speech, PTI appeared at higher level as visible through graphic description. PMLN and PPP appeared to be the second potential users of figurative speech, whereas MQM and RP (JUIF & JI) demonstrated identical level with considerably reduced amount. The graph below provides values of rhetorical devices in post-election speeches.
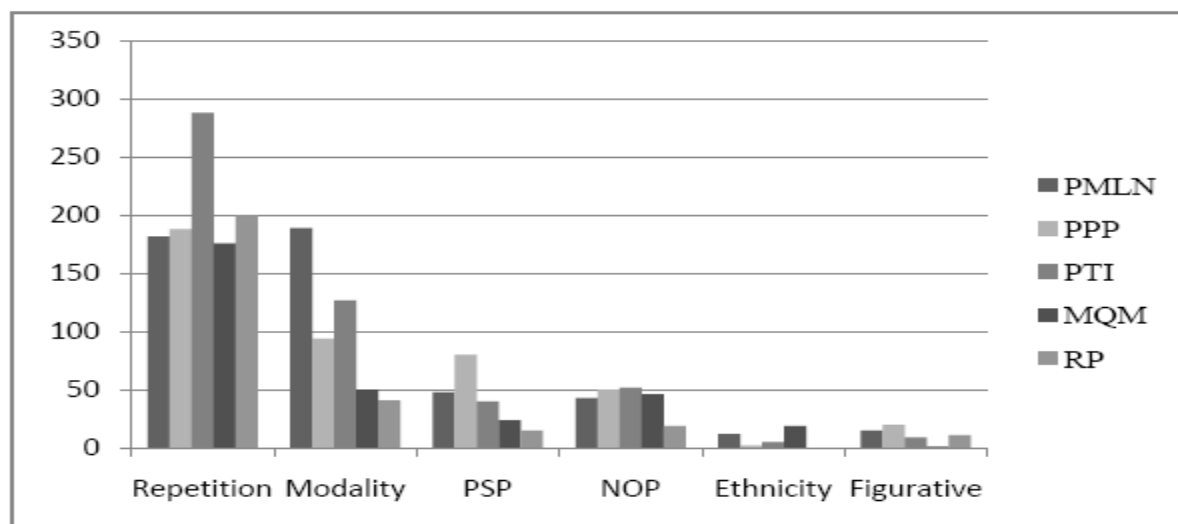
Figure 2. Frequency of Rhetorical Devices in Post-election Speeches

The graph provides interesting values of rhetorical devices in post-election speeches. Apart from PTI that showed a considerable rise, all other parties demonstrated almost the same degree of repetition, nevertheless with substantial discrepancy from PTI. Rest of the parties exhibited minimum difference on scale, with a little high frequency in case of RP (JI & JUIF). Modality emerged as the second frequent linguistic device almost in all cases as demonstrated in figure 2. PMLN, the newly elected party reached the highest point, showing noticeable difference from rest of the parties. PTI and PPP seemed a little closer, though PPP couldn't rise up to the value of 100. MQM and RP (JI & JUIF) stayed at the bottom point as MQM ascended up to the value of 50, whereas RP (JI & JUIF) lingered even below the value of 50.

Post-election data exhibited comparatively reduced degree of Positive self-presentation as visible from the chart. PPP appeared to be the most potential user of PSP with considerable rise. PMLN and PTI seemed quite close in employment of PSP. MQM showed again the decreased frequency of PSP since it lingered significantly below the value of 50, whereas RP stayed once again at the bottom level. As far as NOP is concerned, apart from RP (JI & JUIF), all other political groups showed nominal disparity in its exploitation as evident from graphic description; however none of them could rise above the value of 50 on the scale. The strategies of ethnicity and figurative speech were again the least frequent in case of all political groups as shown in figure 2. In case of ethnicity, apart from MQM, no other party showed noticeable signs, though PTI and PMLN exhibited some traces as indicated in the chart. MQM emerged as the most potential consumer of ethnic element. When it comes to figurative speech, PPP and PMLN indicated almost same amount, though PPP showed slight rise. MQM demonstrated not a least sign of figurative features, whereas PTI and RP (JI & JUIF) also showed decreased number.

The analysis of numerical data made it possible to observe which rhetorical device(s) was more affected by the change in the social and political settings. For this reason, I compared the frequencies of the rhetorical devices. The comparison of pre and post-election frequencies revealed that repetition and figurative speech were less affected by situational change as visible in figure 1

and 2. Though the frequency of modality increased after election, but the difference was not remarkable. Noticeable variation was found in the use of positive self-presentation, negative other-presentation and ethnicity. The number of these devices dropped down in after election speeches, especially a striking change was evident in case of negative other-presentation and ethnicity as demonstrated in the line charts below.
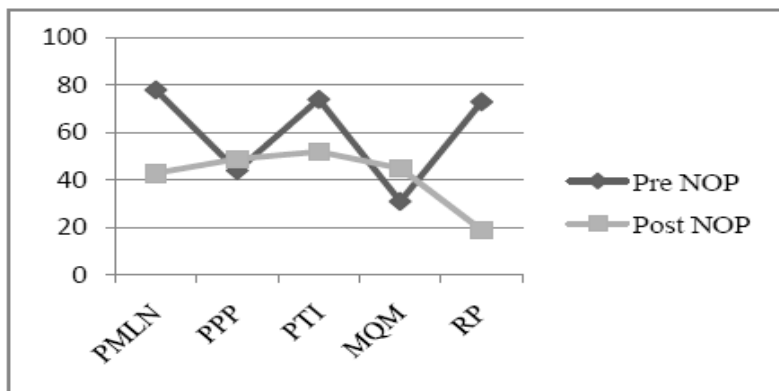

Figure 3. Pre and Post-election Frequency of Negative Other-presentation

Negative Other-presentation (abbreviated as NOP) takes prefix of pre and post to distinguish pre and postelection frequencies. The chart depicts quite interesting picture in rise and fall of the frequency of NOP. It is evident that PMLN, PTI and RP show a great deal of variation in pre and post frequency of NOP. The change occurred in descending order i.e., it decreased from higher to lower values in all cases except PPP, since it exhibited a slight rise after elections and shifts from 42 up to the level of 5o on scale. However, PMLN jumped down from the range of 80 to the value of 40 only, PTI also showed significant decline in post-election since it fell down from the value of 73 to the number of 50. As far as MQM is concerned, it stands with PPP and showed considerable rise in post-election. We can see that it rises upward to the level of 45. RP presented strikingly huge difference and dropped down to value of 20 on scale in post-election. As mentioned above, the remarkable difference could also be observed in the frequency of ethnic markers. The line chart below shows pre and post-election frequency of ethnicity.
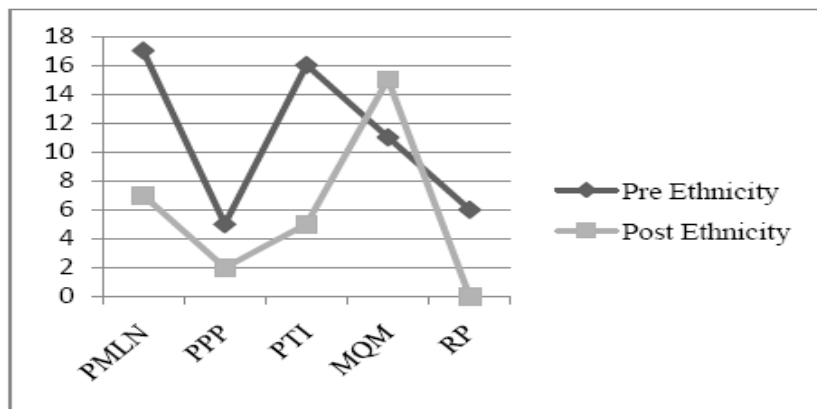

Figure 4. Pre and Post-election Frequency of Ethnicity

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The chart once more demonstrates interesting picture of the frequency of ethnicity in pre and post-election. It is obvious that the overall proportion of this linguistic feature had been quite low. Apart from MQM, all other parties demonstrated a decreased number in post-election. PMLN and PTI exhibited considerable variation. It dropped from the range of 17 to the level of seven almost in PMLN, whereas, the values decreased from 16 to five on the scale in case of PTI. PPP also showed reduction in post-election with slight difference and its values declined from five to two. As far as RP (JI& JUIF) is concerned, it showed no sign of ethnicity in post-election, whereas in pre-election the value is six. MQM demonstrated a considerable rise after elections as value increased from 11 to 15 on the scale.

Results and discussion

The analysis of the speeches of Pakistani political leaders made it evident that linguistic manipulation is central to political discourse. It was found that context plays vital role in selection of rhetorical devices as supported by Martinez (2012). Moreover, Pakistani political leaders are well aware of the tactics of linguistic manipulation and made maximum use of these tactics to win sympathies. The effects of metaphorical expression appeared less dynamic in speeches of Pakistani politicians as compared to the speeches of Barack Obama. Moreover, Pakistani political speeches demonstrate less employment of metaphoric expressions. In addition, the importance of exploiting figurative speech for emotional appeal as highlighted by Al-Harahsheh (2013) also appeared less frequent in Pakistani political discourse.

It reflects that socio-cultural practices contribute significantly to form discursive practices. It was noted that understanding of institutional, societal and situational factors play vital role in interpretation of linguistic choices of political rhetoricians. This understanding facilitated to determine implications of the rhetorical strategies, and led to uncover ideologies, hidden objectives and political motives. It also highlighted the factors including culture, political traditions and personal objectives that are responsible for preference of different rhetorical choices by Pakistani politicians, hence facilitated to answer question 1 of the current research. Furthermore, measuring frequencies of the rhetorical devices made it possible to address question 2 of the study.

Ideologies are reflected and imparted through political discourse as supported by Van Dijk and Fairclough (1992, 1995, & 2004) and Pakistani political discourse is no exception. It was concluded by Martinez (2012) that politicians succeed to create social reality through language and the same phenomenon could be observed after analysis of Pakistani speeches. Skilful use of rhetoric facilitated politicians to establish relation with their audience as pointed out by Schiler (2010). Furthermore, after the analysis, I felt inclined to agree to some extent with Mehdi (2012) who criticized the excessive use of rhetoric by Pakistani politicians and stated, "Pakistani political discourse is filled with: words, words, words".

Repetition, at lexical and phrasal level was the most frequently employed linguistic feature in all cases both in pre and post-election speeches. Context did not affect frequency of repetition significantly in case of all participants, though considerable discrepancy was observed in selection of key words. Ethnicity and figurative speech were the least frequent strategies. The difference in stance and moods of winning and losing participants was visible. PSP, NOP and ethnicity were

significantly contextualized keeping in view pre and post-election situation. Figurative use of language appeared more frequent after elections, though this variation didn't seem contextual, and looked unintended and coincidental.

The study offered opportunity to get familiar with disposition of Pakistani political discourse. Analysis of rhetorical devices made it possible to develop better understanding of the Pakistani political speeches. It assisted to know some of the common features of Pakistani political speeches. Certain level of linguistic cohesion was perceived in exploitation of rhetorical strategies amongst the members of the party such as members of PMLN relied more on highlighting their achievements, especially in the province of Punjab. PPP speakers focused more on narrating stories of sacrifices given by Bhutto family. Moreover, they depended more on targeting Sindh and Sindhi audience and shared jointly the feature of exploiting Sindhi language. PTI speakers expressed keen interest in drawing attention towards Imran Khan's achievements as a cricketer as well as a social worker. MQM members relied on ethnicity, and jointly exploited the burning issues of Karachi. Moreover, they also targeted Sindhi people and well employed Sindhi language to appeal the audience emotionally. Leaders of RP (JI & JUIF) demonstrated cohesion by emphasizing teachings of Islam and highlighting the significance of Islamic system for country's wellbeing.

Conclusion

The study pursued qualitative content analysis approach followed by analysis of numerical data set. It determines that politicians depend significantly on linguistic manipulation to demonstrate ideologies, steer peoples" thoughts, ascertain power, and manufacture consent. Pre-election discursive event appeared more passionate and exuberant as compared to post-election discourse where speakers assumed bit serious style and standpoint. Post- election speeches sounded more premeditated and strategic, whereas pre-election speeches appeared unplanned and extemporaneous. Finally, I conclude that until there is a new way of communication established in the world, politics is inevitably bound up with language, and without any doubt political speech contains the utmost potential to manipulate language, hence exemplifies the power of words (Riesigl, 2003).

The purpose of the study was to investigate the functions and frequency of different persuasive devices employed by Pakistani politicians in pre and post-election speeches, 2013. In this regard, I tried to collect data (speeches) right before and after the election, 2013, but in case of some speakers it could not be possible, and the study had to rely on the speeches produced long before and after the election. Secondly, in case of some speeches complete data could not be accessed, consequently, I had to depend on limited data to conduct the study.

Notwithstanding its limitations; it is hoped that the study contributes to offer an insight into the contemporary Pakistani political discourse. It lends hand to know more about politicians" frame of mind, and facilitates to develop critical viewpoint by offering comparison of pre and post-election data. It aids to develop better understanding of the policies and strategic planning of the state apparatuses, and permits to observe interactional behaviour of the political leaders.

There is a large scope for scholars to focus this area for research. The political discourse in

Pakistan National Assembly can particularly be an interesting area to be explored. Use of belligerent language and hyperbolic expressions can also be an attention-grabbing topic for upcoming researches. Besides, a comparative study, related to the analysis of political talk of Pakistani politicians on national and international forum can definitely be stimulating.

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